643
173

it is correct, the domination of the Batutsi over Ruanda would go back nearly four centuries.

[565] 643 The Abanyiginya and the Abega are the most influential noble families of the country, and kings and queens have been chosen from among them since the earliest times.

[551] The kings of Ruanda have two names, that given them at birth (Musinga, Rudahigwa) and that given them on their accession (Yuhi, Mutara).

When the Mwami dies royal power passes to one of his sons, generally to one of the youngest.

The divine origin attributed to royalty and the legitimacy conferred on the king by a very long heredity led to the [86] acknowledgment of a third characteristic of royal power, that is to say, autocracy.

[423] The Mwami is the undisputed master of the whole country, of the land (fields and pastures), of the cattle, as well as of the people. He is the only real proprietor, all those on whom he bestows his generosity being merely his life tenants.

643 425 He does not necessarily own the land which he cultivates himself, and he does not need to, since his revenues are enriched by the tributes and payments owed to him by each of his subjects. When he is young he receives in appanage from the king, his father, one or several provinces, as well as cattle, and servants. On his accession he may keep all these provinces or give them to others (1).

1. Mutara Rudahigwa has kept his provinces of Nduga and Marangara but has shifted the responsibility of their administration to an umutware.

His favors may be bestowed to anybody, to a Muhutu and even to a Mutwa, whom he can raise immediately to the highest rank. Formerly, even in Musinga's time, those who had ceased to please the Mwami, or simply those whose property he coveted, could be dispossessed any day regardless of their high positions, all influence taken from them, and they themselves exiled from the country. Today, if the Mwami wishes to occupy a certain hill, he asks one

575 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed
563 by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her dis-
668 posal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of
●565 a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

565 The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of
558 even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

[563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The
567 noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.

635 In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text [not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces 634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary within the appointed families, but the king may annul the succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale. Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases (No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in 614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided [635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king. There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district [634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of [635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

643 In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as 614 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
425 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy
435 only; it consists in offering members of the ruling
565 class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

[p. 15(8)]

The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).

565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted
527 the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558
563 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

courtyard at the king's compound, guarded by Batwa. A consecrated elephant tusk is also supposed to be kept there.

During the visit in Nyanza by His Highness the Duke, Musinga climbed into a ngobi at the request of Captain W. Von Grawert. This is the conveyance in which the chiefs are carried on journeys. The king was reluctant to do this, perhaps because he was afraid or because this form of conveyance did not seem to him appropriate to his rank.

While the king is on a journey, his Batwa bearers may get food wherever they wish, for everything is the king's property. That is why Lwabugiri, who was always traveling about, became such a burden to the country. Only the Batwa speak longingly of those days. They accompanied his expeditions, and I often heard them say: "In those days there was a lot of meat. Now Batwa have no standing."

Dr. Hans Meyer says: (1) "...since a sacred tradition forbids

1. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 347.

him (Musinga) to travel beyond the borders of his central province, he is very limited in his outlook." This statement must be based on a misunderstanding, since the rulers of Ruanda formerly traveled a great deal, and this is spoken of in detail in the legends. In all probability a native told Professor Meyer how much he disliked the troublesome journeys of the king, hoping, perhaps, that by misleading an influential European he might make the king's journeys impossible in the future.

Social Organization. We can distinguish four classes among the population of Ruanda. The privileged class consists of the royal officials. It includes the feudal lords of the king (bagaragu) and their subchiefs with their retinues, as well as the rest of the dignitaries at court. Most of the court officials are also feudal lords; some, however, like the head of the royal smiths, are said to hold no lands.

Among the elect, the highest rank is, of course, held by the family of the king, the Banieginia, and that of the queen mother, the Bega.

565 [262] The privileged class consists almost entirely of Batutsi. Among the lower officials, represented by the community headmen, there are quite a number of Bahutu, especially in Bugoye. In Mulera and Bgisha there are Bahutu even among the lords of the king. The officials are commonly called batware (plural).

565 701 Next in rank are the warriors (ngabo). They are placed under particular chiefs and perform no work in the chiefs' fields. In other words, they occupy their own land which their ancestors took possession of and cleared generations ago. After the Batutsi conquest they were not driven from their land, and the king recog- [651] nizes their privileges. They pay only the ordinary taxes, but they must always be ready for war. On them rests the burden of the blood tax, from which the ordinary farmers (biletwa) are, at least theoretically, exempt.

Membership in the corps of ngabo is herediitary, but a person can be ousted from this privileged class as a punishment. On the other hand, I do not know whether there are cases of an ordinary farmer being raised to the position of ngabo.

[714] The insignia of the ngabo is the kigomero, the wooden ring which protects the archer against the recoil of the bowstring.

In the interior, for example, in Nduga, the ngabo are less numerous and are scattered on the hilltops among the rest of the population. There are many more of them in the border districts, and in Mulera, for instance, they make up almost the entire population.

565 Free farmers without land of their own (biletwa) make up the third class. They cultivate the land belonging to the crown and give the chief two or three days' labor out of a five- or six-day week. Besides that they must also pay taxes.

The fourth class consists of the pariah tribe of Batwa. They are hunters, potters, and rain makers. They are the police [693] and also hangmen. Chief Songore, whose principal occupation at court is torturing criminals and very skillfully thrashing them with two small sticks, is said to be a Mutwa.

567 There are also slaves in Ruanda. The institution of slavery, however, has no importance, although the number of slaves in Bugoye and among the Batutsi of Nduga is said to be very considerable. As far as I know, the slaves here are chiefly women,

567 baja who were sold by their parents when they were children in exchange for food during the not infrequent famines. I was unable to find out anything in detail about the social position of boys who are sold in this way. I believe that when they grow up they are absorbed into the bagaragu stratum.

Every district that has periodic famines, for example, Ufumbiro [263], furnishes slaves who, unprotected by their relatives in a strange region, remain in an inferior position, dependent on the protection of their master. In every mission one can see a number of little slaves who have settled there to get away from their masters. On the whole, however, the position of slaves is not at all bad. I never heard of maltreatment.

● 565 [482] Loads are carried chiefly by the biletwa.[1] The Bahutu of this category have personal freedom. They may abandon their house and fields and change masters, as long as they do not leave the state. The batware on the border must see to it that people do not leave the country.

661 565 Actually, however, the existence of the common man is of no consequence, and he is tolerated only on the condition that he satisfies all the demands of the rulers. Often a native cannot simply give up his field and his hut without further ado. He must put up with minor depredations, ostensibly as punishment for alleged crimes. He must pay his taxes and provide food for travelers if the king requests it, although the mutware himself pockets the amount given.

In this primitive, undifferentiated society, however, the possibilities of exploitation are extremely limited. As long as it is simply a question of furnishing food for the relatively small number of rulers, the latter can be satisfied, no matter how large their appetites. Thus, the slight possibility of exploitation lays the foundation of a social equilibrium without legally established norms. Also, if we take into consideration the constant internal struggle of an unsettled state which is very much dependent on the support of the subject masses, we discover the second factor which sharply curbs tyranny. The rulers must consider their subjects, otherwise they run the risk of being abandoned by their followers and subjects and defeated by their rival. Political

[1] [i.e. Free farmers without land of their own—Analyst]

661 wisdom consists in not letting oneself be governed too much by
565 caprice and not becoming relatively the worst tyrant.

Even now when there is peace in the land, petty wars among
669 Musinga's bagaragu and brawls among the bagaragu of the bagaragu
642 of the king are by no means rare, but they occur chiefly in the border regions where the power of the king is not so strongly felt. At the time of my visit, for example, Lukara was fighting with Luhanga in Mulera. In cases like this it often happens that the king is unable to find a man who would not be too afraid to manage and tax the warlike farmers if they were assigned to him. In this way the Bahutu gain their independence and can be subjugated anew only by a punitive expedition.

[264] Under these circumstances, petty internal strife is a natural function of the state and does not result merely in brutality and devastation. In this way, even though it is uneconomical, poor administrators are weeded out, and the power of the strong is curtailed. This principle may at first glance seem paradoxical, but it corresponds very well to the facts. When it comes to the formation of a state under unlimited rule which on principle admits no protest, limitations must arise spontaneously if large masses of people are to live together.

661 The situation changes, however, the moment there is pacifi-
642 cation and the country is opened up and organized by Europeans.
178 The old, natural, albeit uneconomical forms which, after all,
648 regulated conditions are now done away with by force of arms and the rulers, weakened by emigration, overcome. On the other hand, the opening up of export trade creates countless possibilities for exploiting subjects in a hitherto unknown way. The situation of the natives is getting worse, for the new judicial norms, despite their humane phraseology, are less protection to them than the old regulations upon which the organization of the state was built. In Kissaka one can see many natives from Ussuwi who have taken refuge there from the blessings of humane European civilization. Under these new conditions, the only weapon in the hands of the subjects is economic injury to the chief, and this can be achieved by the emigration of the labor force.

The situation of the natives is worst of all where Europeans have put a stop to freedom of movement in order to make police

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

WOMEN OF BURUNDI: A STUDY OF SOCIAL VALUES*†

Ethel M. Albert

SUCCESS IN REALIZING the central values of Rundi society is, for men and women alike, dependent on inherited caste position, intelligence and "luck".[1] In this feudal, patriarchal society, the central values are political power and authority; wealth—especially cows and lands and, today, money and the goods and services it can purchase; respect and love from one's dependants; and elegance of appearance, manners and material possessions. What is needed before all else for obtaining the good things of life, the Rundi say, is the favour of *Imana*, the Supreme Being or Providence. Divine favour is also requisite to the realization of such other important values as numerous children, protection against one's many enemies, and the retention of goods already obtained. The chief terrestrial asset for realizing values is position in the social hierarchy.[2] The likelihood of happiness is greatest for the *mwami*, the king, and for the men and women of the royal and princely patrilineages. Opportunity and hope diminish progressively with decreasing status in the hierarchy, through the patrilineages of the Tutsi herders, the Hutu farmers and serfs, and, at the bottom, the Twa, potters and pariahs.

Women, in so markedly patriarchal and patrilineal a society as

*Author's translation.

†The research upon which this paper is based was supported by a Fellowship from the Ford Foundation, African Program (1955-1957). The field work was done between March, 1956 and July, 1957. Thanks are due also to I.R.S.A.C. (Instut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale) for having granted me the privileges of *Chercheur Associé*. Changes since the period of the research render the present tense historical.

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

562 that of Burundi, are by definition socially inferior to men. Political power, judicial rights, inheritance of cows and lands, and, indeed, the right to independent action outside the walls of the house, are traditionally accorded to men only.[3] Yet, in point of fact, there are [556] women who enjoy considerable authority and who own or control cows, lands and other forms of wealth. What a Rundikazi—a woman of Burundi—cannot do as a woman, she manages very well to do as a Rundi. The life-history of an individual is limited but not fully determined by the formal structures of the society. The dynamics of the social system make provision for political and economic mobility by which all but the most wretched Rundi know how to profit.

562 The social status of a Rundi is established by the caste and class 557 inherited from the father. A woman is inferior to the men of her own social level and to her husband, but not to men of lower castes [564] and classes than her own. The opportunities of a princess or of a ● 565 woman of the aristocracy to acquire wealth are fewer than her father's or brother's but much greater than those of an ordinary herder or, certainly, of a poor farmer or serf. Moreover, women use the same techniques that make it possible for some farmers to own herds of cattle, or for some ordinary herders to become wealthier than some nobles. To advance from his official inherited status as far as possible towards happiness, a Rundi needs the favour of a superior in the social hierarchy. All good things come from the superior. The greater the power of the superior—whether the feudal master, the father, or the husband—the greater the ambition of the inferior—whether a herder, a serf or a woman. For the latter, it is sometimes enough to have a father who is impulsive and generous, or a husband who is docile or too stupid to distinguish the truth from a lie or true affection from flattery. Women attain their goals by means of men. There are always a good many of them available for use in projects both large and small.

562 Although caste and character rather than the simple fact of 577 being male or female determine the lot of a Rundi, the mode of life and the behaviour patterns of women are decidedly different from those of men. Unlike a man, a Rundikazi in public does not speak, nor does she look you in the eyes. To each question, she answers: *Ndabizi*?—How should I know? In public, she lets it be thought that she knows nothing about politics, or where her husband is today, or even the wedding date of her daughter. She is the modest and obedient wife of her husband, the mother of her children, the conscientious mistress of her house, who is always working. What-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

as his private property. No Rundi had rights, power, lands, or cows, except as the *mwami* granted. He distributed his lands and cows and administrative power to those of his brothers and parallel cousins who were on his side in the political battles. These *baganwa*, today called "chiefs", become the vassals of the *mwami*. The *baganwa* distributed the lands and cows they received to *batware*, captains, today called "sub-chiefs", who became their vassals and who in turn procured vassals for themselves by giving to their inferiors small plots of land and a cow here and there. Changes resulting from European influence are gradually eliminating the feudal characteristics of the social system. However, the principle and the order of the hierarchy have so far remained unchanged.

Below the princes in the hierarchy are the *abafasoni*, nobles, those who were once princes but who at the fifth generation are so no longer and who will one day be numbered among the commoners. To describe the commoners, it is necessary to take account of the three *aboko*, castes—the Tutsi, the Hutu and the Twa.[6] The Tutsi are by far of the highest rank among the commoners. Although they make up only ten per cent of the population, they are the masters of the Hutu, who make up more than 85 per cent of the population. It is believed that the Tutsi are of Hamitic or Nilo-Hamitic origin, whereas the Hutu are clearly a part of the Bantu hoe-culture, characteristic of East and Central Africa.[7] Burundi is beyond doubt a "cattle-complex" country. The Tutsi are herders, and nobody debates the superiority of the herders. It is said that the Tutsi, once formidable warriors, on their arrival in the country about three centuries ago, had no need to conquer the Hutu by using their spears. The Hutu to this day willingly become the serfs of the herders in order to receive cows from them. Between the princes and the Tutsi, there is very little difference in rank. Between the rank of the Tutsi and that of the Hutu, there is a very great difference. The Tutsi and the Tutsikazi disdain the Hutu and the Hutukazi, considering them their born servants. Nevertheless, the princes or the king sometimes appoint Hutu to be *batware*. A Hutu thus honoured is the political superior of the Tutsi under his authority. This circumstance in no way modifies his social inferiority. On the contrary, it exacerbates race prejudice. No social mechanism can change the caste in which an individual is born. The Tutsi do not drink with the Hutu, even when they become administrators, for one does not drink with one's social inferiors. The next downward step in the hierarchy takes us to the bottom of the social ladder and almost outside the society to the

WTA 18

Ethel M. Albert

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
613 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
613 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
643 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a
562 very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
582 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
613 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambiguous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

593 daughter is the necessity to prevent incest. The taboo is strong
784 enough to serve as the basis of the oath in court. A man "swears on his daughter", by saying, "If a lie, may I do that act with my daughter, the one named such-and-such".

581 Despite the physical and social distance between father and daughter, they are jointly interested in the earliest possible marriage for her. She is impatient for the pleasures and privileges of the married woman. He is looking forward to the dowry, which he keeps entirely for himself. It is possible that a mother will do her best to put off the marriage. She does not stand to profit from it at all. On the contrary, the departure of her daughter diminishes the available labour supply for work in the home and in the fields. Young people brought up in the homes of the great must wait a
582 long time before their master or mistress will allow them to leave to
[357] be married. The *inchoreke*, young women of good family who are the personal servants of princes and princesses, are often 25 years old before they are married. The *abakamyi*, young men of good family who milk for the great families, are sometimes 35 or 40 at marriage. Among the commoners, the children of the wealthy are
[565] able to marry early, the girls at 15 or 16 and the boys at 18. Poor people envy them and have to wait five to ten years longer before they can be married.

584 A girl's father waits for a visit from a man who is looking for a wife for his son. Sometimes, a boy may ask his father to dower a young girl to whom he has taken a fancy. However, it is the two fathers who decide everything. Neither the girl nor the boy need be formally advised of their father's decisions. Nevertheless, a father will probably tell his son and a mother will tell her daughter.
[564] If not, a girl among the Tutsi of western Burundi will guess that she is engaged from the arrival of the prescribed number of pots of beer from the family asking for her and from the gifts of beer and food sent by relatives for the celebration. She will guess the ap-
[591 proach of the wedding day most easily from the construction of the *indaro*, a temporary dwelling, in her father's yard, where she will
342] live with her husband for the first year of the marriage. (On the wedding day, the girl's father must absent himself from his house.)
591 If the new husband and wife are satisfied with each other and if they have a child, they will leave to take up permanent residence on the property the young husband has received from his father.

585 The Tutsi in the east of Burundi and the Hutu marry at the home
[184] of the groom's father. It is then the young man who deduces from the activities in the household that he will soon be married. The intended bride should properly be told who her intended bride-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her